

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GENEVA 05501 01 OF 03 141243Z

40

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-10 ACDA-05 ISO-00 EURE-00 PM-03 L-03

H-02 NSC-05 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00

INR-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 CU-02 SAJ-01 BIB-01

OIC-02 TRSE-00 EB-07 COME-00 CIEP-01 OMB-01 STR-04

AGR-05 /086 W

----- 045552

O R 141135Z JUL 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4568

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 313

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USNMR/SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLOSACLANT/NORVA

CINCLANT

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 GENEVA 5501

FOR EUR/RPM

EO: 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG PARM EGEN EEWT SGEN

SUBJ: CSCE: STATE II HIGHLIGHTS - JULY 7 - 13

1. SUMMARY: CONSENSUS ON EVEN CONDITIONAL APPROVAL OF A DATE FOR STAGE III OF CSCE WAS BLOCKED LAST WEEK BY MALTESE REFUSAL TO APPROVE A COMPROMISE RESOLUTION INTRODUCED BY THE CANADIAN DELEGATION UNTIL SATISFIED WITH THE TEXT OF THE MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION.  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GENEVA 05501 01 OF 03 141243Z

TION. NEVERTHELESS, CLEAR WILLINGNESS TO THE OTHER 34 PARTICI-

PANTS TO ACCEPT JULY 30 AS THE OPENING DAY FOR STAGE III CONVINC-  
ED THE FINNISH GOVERNMENT TO BEGIN PREPARATIONS FOR HOLDING THE  
SUMMIT ON THAT DATE. CONSULTATIONS OVER THE WEEK-END MADE CLEAR  
THAT ALL NATO COUNTRIES ARE READY TO ACCEPT A MALTESE ADDITION ON  
REDUCTION OF FORCES TO THE MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION, WHICH MEANS  
THAT ALL OTHER PARTICIPANTS WILL GO ALONG. GENERAL APPROVAL OF  
THE MALTESE FORMULATION WILL MAKE POSSIBLE COMPLETION OF A PACK-  
AGE DEAL FOR ACCEPTANCE OF THE CANADIAN PROPOSAL, WHICH GIVES  
TENTATIVE APPROVAL OF A JULY 30 DATE FOR STAGE III, ON THE CONDI-  
TION THAT ALL CONFERENCE WORK IS COMPLETED BY JULY 15. SINCE A  
GOOD DEAL OF WORK REMAINS TO BE DONE, PRESSURE ON CONFERENCE DE-  
LIBERATIONS WILL MOUNT AGAIN AS THE DEADLINE APPROACHES. NATO  
COUNTRIES ARE WILLING TO EXTEND THE CUT-OFF DATE A DAY OR TWO AND  
IT IS LIKELY THAT THIS WILL HAPPEN. WORK ON THE CONFERENCE IS,  
HOWEVER, PROGRESSING WELL. TEXTS ON BASKET III, THE MEDITERRANEAN  
AND FOLLOW-UP ARE VIRTUALLY COMPLETED AND ONLY TWO ISSUES REMAIN  
TO BE SOLVED IN BASKET II. IN BASKET I, TEXTS COVERING THE RO-  
MANIAN AND SWISS PROPOSALS ON NON-USE OF FORCE AND PEACEFUL SET-  
TLEMENT OF DISPUTES HAVE BEEN REGISTERED AND A SECOND READING OF  
THE PRINCIPLES THEMSELVES IN PROCEEDING AT A STEADY PACE. HARD  
PROBLEMS REMAIN ON CBM'S. THE TURKISH DEMAND FOR SPECIAL CONDI-  
TIONS HAS NOT YET BEEN DEALT WITH AND ROMANIAN AND DUTCH RESERVA-  
TIONS ON THE VOLUNTARY NATURE OF CMB'S REMAIN. WORK MUST ALSO BE  
COMPLETED ON THE FINAL ACT, WHERE THE "EUROPE CLAUSE" COVERING  
BERLIN HAS NOT YET BEEN AGREED. IF THE STEPPED-UP PACE OF WORK  
IS MAINTAINED AND HARD POLITICAL DECISIONS ARE TAKEN ON CBM'S, IT  
SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO COMPLETE SUBSTANTIVE WORK BY THE MIDDLE OF  
THE WEEK. THUS, BARRING UNFORESEEN CATASTROPHES, WHICH ARE ALWAYS  
POSSIBLE IN CSCE, CONVENING OF STAGE III IN HELSINKI ON JULY 30  
NOW SEEMS ASSURED. END SUMMARY.

2. STAGE III -- DECISION MAKING ON A STAGE III DATE CRYSTALIZED  
LAST WEEK AFTER PRESENTATION BY THE EC-9 OF A PROPOSAL DRAFTED AT  
THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS' MEETING IN ROME. THIS PAPER, WHICH WAS  
SEEN BY MOST AS A STEP BACKWARD FROM THE FRENCH PROPOSAL OF THE  
WEEK BEFORE, WAS THE RESULT OF HARD BARGAINING BETWEEN EC MEMBERS  
WHO WANTED TO MOVE RAPIDLY TO A DECISION AND THOSE WHO PREFERRED  
TO HOLD BACK. WHILE MAINTAINING THE END OF JULY AS A DESIRABLE  
PERIOD FOR STAGE III, THE EC PAPER REJECTED THE NOTION OF A CONDI-  
TIONAL DECISION. SOVIET REACTION TO THE PAPER WAS QUICK AND AN-  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GENEVA 05501 01 OF 03 141243Z

GRY. DELEGATION CHIEF KOVALEV SAID IN THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE  
MEETING ON JULY 9 THAT IT WAS A "PROVOCATION" WHICH HAD SEVERELY  
SET BACK WORK OF THE CONFERENCE. HE WAS JOINED BY HIS WARSAW  
PACT COLLEAGUES WHO ALL CONDEMNED THE EC FOR ITS UNHELPFUL PRO-  
POSAL.

3. NEGATIVE VIEWS OF THE EC PROPOSAL SEEMED HOWEVER TO MAKE THE  
ORIGINAL FRENCH IDEA OF A CONDITIONAL DECISION ON STAGE III EVEN

MORE ATTRACTIVE. AFTER RECEIVING INSTRUCTIONS DIRECTLY FROM PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU TO ACCELERATE ACCEPTANCE OF A LATE JULY SUMMIT, THE CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVE INTRODUCED A PROPOSAL VIRTUALLY IDENTICAL TO THE FRENCH IDEA OF THE WEEK BEFORE. WITH REGISTRATION OF LANGUAGE ON PEACEFUL CHANGE, AND ALMOST-ASSURED ACCEPTANCE OF THE PAPERS ON FOLLOW-UP AND QRR, THE STAGE SEEMED SET ON JULY 10 FOR CONDITIONAL APPROVAL OF JULY 30 AS THE OPENING DAY FOR STAGE III. THIS LATER DATE WAS MADE NECESSARY AFTER THE FINNISH AMBASSADOR ANNOUNCED THAT JULY 28 AND 29 WERE NO LONGER FEASIBLE DUE TO THE EXPIRATION OF TENTATIVE CONTRACTS WITH PUBLIC SERVICE WORKERS NEEDED AT THE CONFERENCE.

4. HOWEVER, PROGRESS CAME TO A HALT HOURS BEFORE SCHEDULED ACCEPTANCE OF THE CANADIAN PROPOSAL WHEN THE MALTESE REPRESENTATIVE REFUSED TO APPROVE EITHER THE PAPER ON FOLLOW-UP OR THE SUGGESTION FOR A TENTATIVE DECISION ON STAGE III DATE UNTIL SATISFIED ON THE LONG-STANDING MALTESE PROPOSAL FOR INCLUSION OF LANGUAGE ON REDUCTION OF FORCES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA IN THE MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION. AFTER CONSIDERABLE BARGAINING, DURING WHICH MINTOFF WAS EITHER TOO BUSY OR TOO ILL TO REPLY TO VARIOUS COMPROMISE PROPOSALS, MALTESE SPECIAL AMBASSADOR KINGSWELL INTRODUCED A FORMULATION WHICH IF ACCEPTED WOULD REMOVE ALL MALTESE OBJECTIONS TO CONCLUSION OF STAGE II. AFTER CHECKING WITH CAPITALS, NATO DELEGATIONS AGREED OVER THE WEEK-END THAT THE MALTESE PROPOSAL COULD BE ACCEPTED, DESPITE THE WAY IT HAD BEEN FORCED ON THE CONFERENCE. BARRING UNFORESEEN EVENTS, IT IS LIKELY THAT ALL PARTICIPANTS WILL ACCEPT THE MALTESE LANGUAGE AND THAT THE CANADIAN PROPOSAL WILL BE APPROVED AT THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE MEETING ON MONDAY, JULY 14.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GENEVA 05501 02 OF 03 141345Z

40

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-10 ACDA-05 ISO-00 EURE-00 PM-03 L-03

H-02 NSC-05 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00

INR-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 CU-02 SAJ-01 BIB-01

OIC-02 TRSE-00 EB-07 COME-00 CIEP-01 OMB-01 STR-04

AGR-05 /086 W

----- 046236

O R 141135Z JUL 75  
FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4569  
INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 314  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA  
AMEMBASSY OSLO  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
USNMR/SHAPE  
USCINCEUR  
USDOCOSOUTH  
USLOSACLANT/NORVA  
CINCLANT  
USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 GENEVA 5501

FOR EUR/RPM

5. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION -- UNDER HEAVY TIME PRES-  
SURE, PRINCIPLES SUBCOMMITTEE AND SPECIAL WORKING BODY ON IMPLE-  
MENTATION SHOOK OFF THEIR CUSTOMARY SLUGGISHNESS AND MARKED THEIR  
MOST PRODUCTIVE WEEK THUS FAR. AT TUESDAY MEETING OF SPECIAL  
WORKING BODY, AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ON TEXT FOR ROMANIAN PROPOS-  
AL, WHICH ROMANIANS HAD MADE A PRE-CONDITION FOR RECORDING THEIR  
AGREEMENT ON QRR AND PEACEFUL CHANGE TEXTS IN PRINCIPLES SUBCOM-  
MITTEE. AGREEMENT ON ROMANIAN TEXT CAME AFTER SOVIETS SUCCESSI-  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GENEVA 05501 02 OF 03 141345Z

VELY MADE AND WERE CONVINCED TO WITHDRAW TWO CONDITIONS ON AGREE-  
MENT: ROMANIAN ACCEPTANCE OF "VOLUNTARY BASIS" IN CBM'S AND FRG  
COMMITMENT TO SUPPORT FRENCH PROPOSAL ON STAGE III TIMING. AFTER  
SOVIETS RELENTED, ROMANIAN TEXT WAS PRINTED IN CONFERENCE JOURNAL  
WITH NOTE IT WAS READY FOR REGISTRATION. NEXT, AFTER SOME MAL-  
TESE STALLING, SAME JOURNAL PROCEDURE WAS USED TUESDAY EVENING TO  
NOTE AGREEMENT ON INSERTION OF PEACEFUL CHANGE TEXT AS SECOND SEN-  
TENCE IN FINAL PARA OF FIRST PRINCIPLE. ROMANIANS SAID THEY GUAR-  
ANTEED THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF QRR TEXT AS WELL BUT COULD NOT RECORD  
AGREEMENT UNTIL THEIR DEMANDS IN FOLLOW-UP WERE MET. US, SUP-  
PORTED BY UK, FRANCE AND USSR, RESERVED RIGHT TO RETURN TO ROMAN-  
IAN PROPOSAL IF QRR NOT AGREED LATER. MALTESE EVENTUALLY TOOK AN  
EQUALLY OBSTRUCTIVE ROLE BY LINKING ACCEPTANCE OF QRR TEXT TO IN-  
SERTION OF ARMS REDUCTION REFERENCE IN MEDITERRANEAN DOCUMENT.  
PRINCIPLES SUBCOMMITTEE WAS ABLE, IN MIDST OF THIS COMPLEX BAR-  
GAINING, TO RECORD COMPLETED PREAMBLE IN JOURNAL AND BEGIN SECOND  
READING OF PRINCIPLES. IN SECOND READING ROMANIANS TOOK EVERY  
OPPORTUNITY TO PRESS FUR FURTHER GAINS.

6. MILITARY SECURITY -- ATTENTION OF NEARLY ALL ALLIES THIS WEEK WAS FOCUSED ON TURKISH AREA ISSUE, WHICH ALTHOUGH TEMPORARILY ECLIPSED BY MALTESE PROBLEM IS THE MAJOR OUTSTANDING CBM ISSUE AND ONE OF THE FEW REMAINING CRITICAL ISSUES THAT NEEDS TO BE SETTLED BEFORE THE JULY SUMMIT CAN BE CONSIDERED CERTAIN. ALLIED DEMARCHES IN ANKARA, TOGETHER WITH GERMAN CONVERSATIONS WITH TURKISH CHIEF OF GENERAL STAFF IN BONN, MAY HAVE TURNED TURKS AROUND TO THE POINT WHERE THEY ARE PREPARED TO ACCEDE TO GENERAL PREFERENCE OF OTHER CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS ON AREA TEXT. THIS WOULD MEAN THAT TURKEY WOULD ACCEPT APPLICATION OF CBM IN 250-KM ZONE MEASURED FROM ITS BORDERS, JUST AS SOVIETS WILL, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF AREAS CLOSE TO TURKISH FRONTIERS WITH NON-PARTICIPATING STATES. HOWEVER, TURKS MAY SEEK FURTHER SATISFACTION ON NOTIFICATION OF AMPHIBIOUS/AIRBORNE MANEUVERS BEFORE THEY MAKE CONCESSIONS ON AREA. SOVIETS INITIALLY REJECTED THIS POSSIBLE TURKISH TACTIC AS "BLACK-MAIL" BUT NATO ALLIES ARE WORKING WITH THEM TO SEE IF THEY CAN FIND SOME FORM OF ACCOMMODATION OF TURKISH REQUEST. ANOTHER OUTSTANDING CBM ISSUE OF LESSER PROPORTIONS IS TEXT FOR "VOLUNTARY BASIS" FOR MANEUVERS MEASURE. ROMANIANS AND DUTCH, WITH SOME SYMPATHY FROM OTHERS, ARE STILL OPPOSED TO UK TEXT, AND ARE CONSULTING INTENSIVELY WITH SOVIETS ON A POSSIBLE REVISION. THEIR CURRENT DRAFT REVISION RETAINS WORDS "VOLUNTARY BASIS" AND DOES NOT CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GENEVA 05501 02 OF 03 141345Z

SUBSTANTIALLY ALTER THE SENSE OF UK TEXT. IF SOVIETS CAN AGREE TO THESE AMENDMENTS, NATO ALLIES CAN ALSO SUPPORT THEM. TENTATIVE TEXTS FOR PORTIONS OF FINAL DOCUMENT DEALING WITH MOVEMENTS AND "OTHER" MANEUVERS WERE AGREED IN INFORMAL MEETING OF SUBCOMMITTEE ON JULY 9. ONLY TEXTS WHICH HAVE NOT YET BEEN TENTATIVELY AGREED ARE THOSE FOR MANEUVERS MEASURE AND PREAMBLE. WE EXPECT THAT AGREEMENT ON THESE TEXTS MAY BE REACHED IN THE NEXT THREE OR FOUR DAYS, DEPENDING ALWAYS ON RESOLUTION OF TURKISH ISSUES.

7. ECONOMIC -- ONE OF THE LAST REMAINING ISSUES IN COMMITTEE II WAS SETTLED WITH THE ADOPTION OF A SAFEGUARD CLAUSE COVERING SERIOUS INJURY AND MARKET DISRUPTION TO DOMESTIC MARKETS AND DOMESTIC PRODUCERS. THIS LEFT ONLY THE PROBLEM OF PARALLEL TEXTS GOVERNING RECIPROCITY AND MOST-FAVORED-NATION TREATMENT. BY THE END OF THE WEEK, THE EAST GAVE SUPPORT TO A SWISS COMPROMISE CALLING FOR "EQUITABLE SHARING OF ADVANTAGES AND OBLIGATIONS" WHILE THE COMMUNITY EASED ITS POSITION SLIGHTLY TO "A BALANCED SHARING". THE COMMUNITY CLAIMS TO SEE THE WORDING OF THIS CONCEPT AS CRUCIAL FOR FUTURE TRADE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EAST AND EC PARTICIPANTS HAVE ANNOUNCED THAT SATISFACTION ON RECIPROCITY WILL BE A CONDITION FOR FINAL AGREEMENT TO A STAGE III DATE. ON MFN, THE WEST REITERATED THAT IT COULD NOT GO MUCH FARTHER THAN A STATEMENT THAT MFN TREATMENT "CAN HAVE A BENEFICIAL EFFECT ON TRADE FLOWS" AND THIS ONLY IF A STRONG RECIPROCITY CLAUSE IS AGREED.

8. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION -- COMMITTEE III MARKED TIME DURING

WEEK. FEW QUESTIONS STILL TO BE DEALT WITH ARE LINKED TO PENDING DECISIONS IN OTHER BASKETS, AND SHOULD BE SETTLED QUICKLY ONE RELEVANT DECISIONS ARE MADE ELSEWHERE IN THE CONFERENCE.

9. MEDITARRANEAN -- CONSIDERATION OF THE MEDITERRANEAN BECAME THE FOCUS OF CONFERENCE WORK AT THE END OF LAST WEEK AS INTENSIVE EFFORTS WERE MADE TO MEET MALTESE DEMANDS FOR CHANGES IN THE TEXT OF THE MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION. HECTIC NEGOTIATIONS ON JULY 10 AND 11 RESULTED IN TWO NOT ENTIRELY INNOCUOUS NEW PARAGRAPHS FOR THE MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION ANNOUNCING THE INTENTION OF CSCE PARTICIPANTS TO CONTINUE THE CONTACTS ON MEDITERRANEAN SECURITY BEGUN IN CSCE AND SPECIFYING THE PURPOSES WHICH SUCH CONTACTS SHOULD SERVE. THESE PARAGRAPHS WERE INCLUDED IN A PACKAGE DEAL LEADING TO ACCEPTANCE OF THE CANADIAN PROPOSAL ON STAGE III DATE. AFTER CONSIDERABLE DELAY, MINTOFF'S SPECIAL ENVOY AMBASSADOR  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 GENEVA 05501 02 OF 03 141345Z

KINGSWELL SAID THE PACKAGE DEAL WOULD BE ACCEPTED IF PARTICIPANTS AGREED TO AN ADDITIONAL PHRASE MAKING "REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES IN THE REGION" ONE OF THE PURPOSES OF CONTINUED CONTACTS ON THE MEDITARRANEAN. EXPECTED ACCEPTANCE OF THE MALTESE PHRASE ON JULY 14 WILL MARK COMPLETION OF WORK ON THE MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GENEVA 05501 03 OF 03 141358Z

40

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-10 ACDA-05 ISO-00 EURE-00 PM-03 L-03

H-02 NSC-05 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00

INR-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 CU-02 SAJ-01 BIB-01

OIC-02 TRSE-00 EB-07 COME-00 CIEP-01 OMB-01 STR-04

AGR-05 /086 W

----- 046413

O R 141135Z JUL 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4570  
INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 315  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA  
AMEMBASSY OSLO  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
USNMR/SHAPE  
USCINCEUR  
USDOCOSOUTH  
USLO SAACLANT NORFOLK VA  
CINCLANT  
USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 GENEVA 5501

FOR EUR/RPM

10. FINAL DOCUMENT -- APPROVAL OF A DRAFT TEXT OF THE FINAL ACT HAS BEEN DELAYED BY DIFFICULTIES IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE INTRODUCTORY PARAGRAPHS AND ON THE PARAGRAPH CONTAINING THE SO-CALLED "EUROPE CLAUSE" WHICH IS DESIRED BY THE FRG AS A MEANS OF HELPING ACHIEVE APPLICATION OF THE PRACTICAL RESULTS OF CSCE TO WEST BERLIN. THE POINT AT ISSUE IS HOW MANY AND WHAT SORTS OF REFERENCES TO THE CONCEPT OF DETENTE SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE FINAL ACT. THE SOVIETS WISH PARAGRAPH 1 OF THE FINAL ACT TO RE-CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GENEVA 05501 03 OF 03 141358Z

FER TO THE "IRREVERSIBILITY" OF DETENTE, A CONCEPT WHICH WESTERN PARTICIPANTS HAVE SUCCEEDED AFTER DIFFICULT NEGOTIATIONS TO REMOVE FROM THE LANGUAGE OF THE PRINCIPLES AND THEIR PREAMBLE. AT PRESENT, THE DRAFT "EUROPE CLAUSE" ALSO CONTAINS A REFERENCE TO DETENTE, WHICH IS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE ROMANIANS AND SEVERAL WESTERN AND NEUTRAL PARTICIPANTS. A DEAL IS IN THE MAKING WHEREBY THE SOVIETS WOULD ACCEPT A REFERENCE TO DETENTE IN PARAGRAPH 1 WHICH DID NOT CONTAIN THE IDEA OF IRREVERSIBILITY AND WOULD AGREE TO DROP THE REFERENCE IN THE "EUROPE CLAUSE". IF THIS DEAL CAN BE MADE, A DRAFT FINAL ACT SHOULD BE READY FOR PRESENTATION TO THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE BY MID-WEEK.

11. FOLLOW-UP -- AFTER SEVERAL DAYS OF INTENSE NEGOTIATIONS, CENTERING FIRST ON DEVELOPMENT OF A BROADLY ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE AND THEN ON THE RESOLUTION OF UNEXPECTED BELGIAN OBJECTIONS TO IT, A BROAD UNDERSTANDING ON FOLLOW-UP EMERGED AT THE END OF THE WEEK. REGISTRATION OF THE PAPER WAS BLOCKED, HOWEVER, BY MALTESE OBJECTIONS, WHICH WERE RAISED AS A TACTICAL PLOY TO SUPPORT MINTOFF'S POSITION ON THE MEDITERRANEAN. REGISTRATION OF THE PAPER ON FOLLOW-UP IS PART OF THE PACKAGE DEAL WHICH IS EXPECTED TO BE CONSUMMATED ON JULY 14 WHEN OTHER PARTICIPANTS AGREE TO MALTESE CHANGES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION.

12. COMMENT: MINTOFF'S LAST MINUTE PRESSURE TACTICS HAVE CLEARLY SHAKEN A GOOD MANY PARTICIPANTS. THERE HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLE TALK THIS WEEK OF THE IMPLICATIONS FOR CSCE AND FOR MULTILATERAL APPROACHES TO DETENTE OF MALTA'S APPARENT SUCCESS IN USING THE PRESSURE OF TIME AND THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSENSUS TO FORCE 34 OTHER PARTICIPANTS, INCLUDING TWO SUPERPOWERS, TO ACCEPT LANGUAGE WHICH ALMOST NONE OF THEM WISHED TO SEE INCLUDED IN CONFERENCE DECISIONS. THOSE PARTICIPANTS, INCLUDING THE SOVIETS, WHO HAD HIGH HOPES FOR DEVELOPMENT OF THE MULTILATERAL EFFORTS BEGUN AT CSCE ARE BEGINNING TO WONDER IF MALTA'S EXAMPLE MAY NOT BE REPEATED TIME AND AGAIN IN VARIOUS FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS AND IN OTHER MULTILATERAL EFFORTS WHERE THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSENSUS WILL BE ADOPTED. FOR THE SOVIETS, WHO WISH TO CONTROL THE MULTILATERAL PROCESS FOR THEIR OWN POLITICAL ENDS, THE PROSPECT IS QUITE UNATTRACTIVE. GOOD DEMONSTRATION OF SOVIET CONCERNS WAS SEEN IN THE DEMANDS BY DELEGATION CHIEF KOVALEV TO CRUSH THE MALTESE OBJECTIONS, EVEN AT THE COST OF VIOLATING THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSENSUS. SOVIET REPS HAVE IN RECENT DAYS ALSO BEGUN TALKING OF THE POSSIBLE NEED TO REVISE  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GENEVA 05501 03 OF 03 141358Z

THE CONSENSUS CONCEPT, AT LEAST ON PROCEDURAL MATTERS, TO MAKE SURE THAT THE MALTESE EXAMPLE IS NOT REPEATED.

13. THE CHOICE IS EVEN MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE SMALLER COUNTRIES, WHO WERE COUNTING ON MULTILATERAL UNDERTAKINGS BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSENSUS TO SECURE FOR THEMSELVES AN ACTIVE AND VIABLE ROLE IN EUROPEAN POLITICAL AND SECURITY AFFAIRS. ALMOST WITHOUT EXCEPTION, THE FIRST REACTION TO THE MALTESE DEMANDS AMONG SMALLER PARTICIPANTS, NATO AND NEUTRAL COUNTRIES ALIKE, WAS THAT HOWEVER IMPOSSIBLE THE SITUATION, NOTHING SHOULD BE DONE TO VIOLATE THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSENSUS. THE SWISS AND ROMANIAN DELEGATIONS EVEN REFUSED TO JOIN 29 OTHER PARTICIPANTS IN SPEAKING IN FAVOR OF THE CANADIAN PROPOSAL AT A COORDINATING COMMITTEE MEETING, ON THE GROUNDS THAT SUCH A "ROLL CALL" VIOLATED THE CONSENSUS PRINCIPLE.

14. AT THE SAME TIME, THESE COUNTRIES ARE AS SENSITIVE AS OTHERS TO THE INADVISABILITY OF APPEARING TO GIVE IN TOO EASILY TO PRESSURE TACTICS OF "INTERNATIONAL BLACKMAIL" BY ONE SMALLER COUNTRY WITH A SPECIFIC AXE TO GRIND. THEY KNOW TOO, AS WAS OFTEN HEARD IN CORRIDOR DISCUSSIONS LAST WEEK, THAT THE MORE SMALLER COUNTRIES USE CONSENSUS AS AN OFFENSIVE WEAPON TO FORCE CONSIDERATION OF LIMITED CONCERNS RATHER THAN AS A DEFENSIVE MEANS OF PROTECTING LEGITIMATE INTERESTS, THE LESS THE LARGER COUNTRIES WILL BE INTERESTED IN PURSUING MULTILATERAL UNDERTAKINGS ON THIS BASIS.  
END COMMENT.ABRAMS

CONFIDENTIAL



NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** COLLECTIVE SECURITY, TEXT, MEETINGS, STAGE III, MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 14 JUL 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GarlanWA  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975GENEVA05501  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750242-0785  
**From:** GENEVA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750759/aaaacaxm.tel  
**Line Count:** 436  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 8  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GarlanWA  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 02 MAY 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <02 MAY 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <15 JUL 2003 by GarlanWA>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
06 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CSCE: STATE II HIGHLIGHTS - JULY 7 - 13  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PARM, EGEN, EEWT, SGEN, XG, MT, CSCE  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006